

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 NATO 07943

BELGRADE FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652 GDS
TAGS: CSCE, NATO, CA
SUBJECT: CSCE: CANADIAN PAPERS ON PREPARATIONS FOR
BELGRADE: MILITARY ASPECTS OF DETENTE AND IDEOLOGICAL
DETENTE

REF: STATE 144666

1. THERE FOLLOW TEXTS OF PAPERS ON THEMES AND POSSIBLE
RESOLUTIONS FOR BELGRADE, WHICH CANADIAN DEL HAS
DISTRIBUTED TO POLADS.
2. INITIAL COMMENT BY POLADS ON THE "MILITARY ASPECTS
OF DETENTE" PAPER HAS BEEN NEGATIVE. WE WILL COMMENT
ON THE BASIS OF EXISTING GUIDANCE INCLUDING PARA 4
REFTEL THAT ANY DISARMAMENT THEME SHOULD CLOSELY FOLLOW
THE GUIDELINES OF CM(77)29.

3. WE EXPECT INITIAL EXCHANGES OF VIEWS ON PAPER ON
"IDEOLOGICAL DETENTE" AUGUST 23.

BEGIN TEXT:
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- CSCE - BELGRADE REVIEW MEETINGS
- MILITARY ASPECTS OF DETENTE

THEME

- DETENTE AND THE ARMS RACE TAKE US IN DIVERGENT

DIRECTIONS. DETENTE IS CONCERNED WITH INCREASING CONFIDENCE BETWEEN STATES BUT THE ARMS RACE PERPETUATES AND INCREASES DISTRUST. IF DETENTE IS TO BE A CONTINUING AND AN INCREASINGLY VIABLE AND COMPREHENSIVE PROCESS, UNIVERSAL IN SCOPE, AS ENVISAGED IN THE FINAL ACT, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO PROMOTE AND DEVELOP CONFIDENCE IN THE MILITARY SPHERE. THIS CANNOT BE ACHIEVED SIMPLY BY MAKING DECLARATIONS OF GOOD FAITH OR TRYING TO LEGISLATE INTENTIONS. WHAT IS REQUIRED ARE POSITIVE AND CONCRETE MEASURES OF DISARMAMENT THAT WILL REDUCE THE PROSPECTS OF ARMED CONFLICT AND LIMIT THE CAPACITY TO WAGE WAR.

ARGUMENTS

- ALL SIGNATORIES OF THE FINAL ACT HAVE ACCEPTED THAT THE PURSUIT OF DETENTE IS THE APPROPRIATE WAY TO ADVANCE THEIR MUTUAL INTERESTS.
- ALTHOUGH THERE ARE VARIOUS WAYS OF DEFINING DETENTE, IN ESSENCE, AS THE FINAL ACT SUGGESTS, IT SEEKS TO OVERCOME DISTRUST AND INCREASE CONFIDENCE.
- DETENTE IS AN INDIVISIBLE PROCESS HAVING MANY DIMENSIONS. IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW PROGRESS IN ITS POLITICAL AND OTHER ASPECTS CAN BE FULLY ACHIEVED

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IN THE FACE OF THE DISTRUST AND UNCERTAINTY THAT RESULTS FROM LACK OF PROGRESS IN THE MILITARY DIMENSION OF DETENTE, PARTICULARLY THE KEY AREA OF DISARMAMENT. THE COMPLEMENTARY NATURE OF THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY IS RECOGNIZED IN THE FINAL ACT.

- A MAJOR PREOCCUPATION OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES MUST THEREFORE BE NOT ONLY TO CONTRIBUTE TO INCREASING STABILITY AND SECURITY IN EUROPE BY STRENGTHENING CONFIDENCE THROUGH THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES SET OUT IN THE FINAL ACT, BUT ALSO TO FIND WAYS OF ACHIEVING PROGRESS IN ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT. THEIR EFFORTS MUST BE AIMED AT LESSENING CONFRONTATION AND PROMOTING DISARMAMENT IN SUCH A WAY AS TO COMPLEMENT POLITICAL DETENTE IN EUROPE AND TO STRENGTHEN THEIR SECURITY.
- SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS IN THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF DETENTE REQUIRES CONCRETE MEASURES OF DISARMAMENT THAT CAN BE VERIFIED AS NECESSARY. UNDERTAKINGS

MERELY TO REFRAIN FROM CERTAIN ACTS CANNOT CONTRIBUTE
TO THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF DETENTE BECAUSE THEY
WILL NOT REDUCE MISTRUST OR UNCERTAINTY.

- ACTS MEANT TO SUPPORT DETENTE IN THE MILITARY
AREA MUST NOT JEOPARDIZE SECURITY, WHICH IS AN
ESSENTIAL PREREQUISITE FOR THE CONFIDENCE REQUIRED
TO PURSUE THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE DETENTE
PROCESS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 NATO 07943

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (FOR TEXT SUBPARAS A AND B)

- FOR THE SIGNATORIES OF THE FINAL ACT THE LEVEL
OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN EUROPE IS A MAJOR
CONSIDERATION IN TERMS OF THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF
DETENTE. ANY INCREASES IN FORCE LEVELS BEYOND
THOSE CLEARLY REQUIRED TO SATISFY DEFENSIVE NEEDS
THREATEN STABILITY AND UNDERMINE DETENTE.

- CONVERSELY, THE LESSENING OF THE MILITARY
CONFRONTATION IN EUROPE THROUGH AGREED FORCE REDUCTIONS
WOULD CONSTITUTE A POSITIVE ACT IN PURSUIT OF THE
MILITARY ASPECTS OF DETENTE AND COULD BE AN IMPORTANT
STEP TOWARDS MORE FAR-REACHING DISARMAMENT OBJECTIVES.

POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENTS

- GENERAL ACCEPTANCE THAT ADVANCES IN ARMS CONTROL
AND DISARMAMENT IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT ARE AN
ESSENTIAL COMPLEMENT TO FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE

OTHER ASPECTS OF DETENTE.

- RECOGNITION THAT VERIFIABLE MEASURES TO CONTROL
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MILITARY CAPABILITIES, RATHER THAN ATTEMPTS TO
LEGISLATE INTENTIONS, ARE WHAT IS REQUIRED TO PRODUCE
REAL PROGRESS IN THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF DETENTE.

- INCREASED OPENNESS ABOUT MILITARY ACTIVITIES
IN ORDER TO REDUCE DISTRUST AND IMPROVE CONFIDENCE.

- BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE MILITARY BALANCE
AND STABILITY.

RESOLUTION

- THE PARTICIPATING STATES:
- CONSCIOUS THAT ADVANCES IN THE POLITICAL AND
OTHER ASPECTS OF DETENTE WILL BE LIMITED WITHOUT
PROGRESS ON THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF DETENTE;
- DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE CONTINUING HIGH
LEVEL OF ARMED CONFRONTATION IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE;
- DETERMINED TO FIND WAYS OF MAKING PROGRESS
IN THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF DETENTE;
- RESOLVE TO TAKE POSITIVE STEPS TOWARDS THIS
OBJECTIVE, IN PARTICULAR BY:
- (A) SEEKING TO REDUCE THE LEVEL OF ARMED
CONFRONTATION, ESPECIALLY IN CENTRAL
EUROPE, AND BY LIMITING THEIR FORCES
TO LEVELS THAT ARE REASONABLE AND NO
HIGHER THAN NECESSARY TO SATISFY
DEFENSIVE NEEDS;

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- (B) CALLING UPON ALL STATES INVOLVED IN
RELEVANT ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT
NEGOTIATIONS TO CONDUCT SUCH NEGOTIATIONS
WITH DISPATCH AND IN A FORWARDLOOKING,
COOPERATIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE MANNER;

- (C) COMPLYING WITH THE SPIRIT AS WELL AS
- THE LETTER OF THE TEXT OF THE FINAL ACT
- DEALING WITH CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES;

- (D) DISPLAYING GREATER OPENNESS ABOUT THEIR
- MILITARY ACTIVITIES, PARTICULARLY MILITARY
- EXPENDITURES; AND BY
- (E) SEEKING FURTHER WAYS OF BUILDING CONFIDENCE
- AMONG THEMSELVES.

END TEXT.

BEGIN TEXT:

- CSCE - BELGRADE REVIEW MEETING
- IDEOLOGICAL DETENTE

THEME

- THE FINAL ACT STIPULATES THAT PARTICIPATING STATES "WILL RESPECT EACH OTHER'S RIGHT FREELY TO CHOOSE AND DEVELOP ITS POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL SYSTEMS", AND THAT "ALL PEOPLES ALWAYS HAVE THE RIGHT, IN FULL FREEDOM, TO DETERMINE, WHEN AND AS THEY WISH, THEIR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLITICAL STATUS, WITHOUT EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE". THESE PRINCIPLES EMBODY FOUR ESSENTIAL CONCEPTS: (A) IDEOLOGICAL PLURALISM; (B) IDEOLOGICAL NON-INTERVENTION; (C) FREEDOM OF IDEOLOGICAL CHOICE;

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AND (D) ACCESS TO IDEOLOGICAL INFORMATION (I.E.,

THE FREE FLOW OF IDEAS). THE ACCEPTANCE OF THESE CONCEPTS, BOTH IN THEORY AND IN PRACTICE, IS ESSENTIAL TO THE PURSUIT OF DETENTE.

ARGUMENTS

(A) THE FINAL ACT EXPRESSLY RECOGNIZES THE EXISTENCE OF THE DIVERSITY OF PREVAILING POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

(B) THE FINAL ACT IS IDEOLOGICALLY NEUTRAL. IT NEITHER PROMOTES NOR CONDEMNS ANY PARTICULAR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC OR SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OR SYSTEM. IT IMPOSES NO OBLIGATIONS ON GOVERNMENTS OF PARTICIPATING STATES TO BRING ABOUT CHANGES IN THEIR BASIC SYSTEMS ALTHOUGH IT DOES EXPECT THEM TO BRING THEIR LEGISLATION AND PRACTICES INTO CONFORMITY WITH ITS PROVISIONS.

(C) THE FINAL ACT DOES, HOWEVER, MAKE IT UNEQUIVOCALLY CLEAR THAT PARTICIPATING STATES SHOULD REFRAIN FROM SEEKING TO ALTER BY COERCION POLITICAL, ECONOMIC OR SOCIAL SYSTEMS PREVAILING IN OTHER PARTICIPATING

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STATES. RESPECT FOR THIS PRINCIPLE IS FUNDAMENTAL TO THE MAINTENANCE AND PURSUIT OF DETENTE AND COOPERATION AMONG PARTICIPATING STATES. ANY DEPARTURE FROM THIS PRINCIPLE CAN BUT HAVE AN ADVERSE EFFECT ON THE PROCESS OF DETENTE.

(D) IN TERMS OF THE PROVISIONS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE FINAL ACT, THE NOTION THAT THE POWER OF THE STATE MAY BE USED TO PURSUE A POLICY OF SO-CALLED "IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE" AGAINST, OR DIRECTED TOWARD, ANOTHER STATE OR GROUP OF STATES IS TOTALLY INADMISSIBLE. SUCH A NOTION IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH PRINCIPLES I, VI AND VIII OF THE FINAL ACT AND WITH THE CONCEPT OF DETENTE ITSELF.

(E) IDEAS SHOULD PERSUADE ON THEIR OWN STRENGTH AND ON THE STRENGTH OF THE SOCIETIES THAT PROFESS THEM. WHERE THE POWER AND BUREAUCRACY OF THE STATE IS BROUGHT TO BEAR ON THE COMPETITION OF IDEAS, THIS IS BOUND SOONER OR LATER TO LEAD TO INTERVENTION IN ANOTHER STATE'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS CONTRARY TO THAT TO WHICH PARTICIPATING STATES HAVE SUBSCRIBED IN THE FINAL ACT.

(F) THE FINAL ACT ALSO RECOGNIZES THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES FREELY TO CHOOSE THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEM THEY WISH. THIS IMPLIES, BY DEFINITION, A RIGHT TO ACQUIRE KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING OF A VARIETY OF SYSTEMS THROUGH ACCESS

TO RELEVANT INFORMATION AND IDEAS. IT IS THEREFORE
INCUMBENT ON GOVERNMENTS NOT TO IMPEDE WITHIN THEIR
JURISDICTIONS DISSEMINATION TO THE PUBLIC AT LARGE
OF INFORMATION AND IDEAS CONCERNING A VARIETY OF
IDEOLOGIES AND OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
SYSTEMS.

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POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENTS

(A) PARTICIPATING STATES COULD CONTRIBUTE TO
IDEOLOGICAL DETENTE BY REFRAINING FROM ANY ACTS
WHICH DETRACT FROM THE OBJECTIVE OF OVERCOMING
DISTRUST AND INCREASING CONFIDENCE, IN PARTICULAR
THOSE WHICH AIM AT TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE FREE
COMPETITION OF IDEAS TO SUBORDINATE TO THEIR OWN
INTERESTS THE EXERCISE BY ANOTHER STATE OF THE RIGHTS
INHERENT IN ITS SOVEREIGNTY AND BY ITS PEOPLE OF
THE RIGHT OF FREE POLITICAL CHOICE.

(B) THEY COULD CONTRIBUTE FURTHER TO IDEOLOGICAL
DETENTE BY REMOVING BARRIERS TO THE FREE FLOW OF
INFORMATION THAT WOULD PERMIT PEOPLE UNIMPEDED
ACCESS TO THE IDEAS OF OTHERS.

RESOLUTION:

- THE STATES PARTICIPATING IN THE CSCE:
- RECOGNIZING THAT THE FINAL ACT OF THE CSCE
STIPULATES THAT PARTICIPATING STATES "WILL RESPECT
EACH OTHER'S RIGHT FREELY TO CHOOSE AND DEVELOP ITS
POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL SYSTEMS";
- RECOGNIZING THAT THE FINAL ACT OF THE CSCE
AFFIRMS THAT "ALL PEOPLE ALWAYS HAVE THE RIGHT IN
FULL FREEDOM, TO DETERMINE, WHEN AND AS THEY WISH,
THEIR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLITICAL STATUS, WITHOUT
EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE";
- CONCERNED THAT THE FREE COMPETITION OF IDEAS

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SHOULD NOT BE USED BY ANY STATE TO SUBORDINATE TO
ITS OWN INTEREST THE EXERCISE BY OTHER STATES OF
THE RIGHTS INHERENT IN THEIR SOVEREIGNTY;

- CONVINCED OF THE NEED FOR LARGE-SCALE
DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION TO PERMIT A FREE COMPETITION
OF IDEAS SO THAT PEOPLES MAY MAKE CONSIDERED CHOICES
AS AMONG VARIOUS IDEAS AND SYSTEMS;

- CONVINCED FURTHER OF "THE NEED TO EXERT
EFFORTS TO MAKE DETENTE BOTH A CONTINUING AND AN
INCREASINGLY VIABLE AND COMPREHENSIVE PROCESS";

- MINDFUL OF THE IMPORTANCE OF IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT IN THE FOSTERING
OF DETENTE;

- RESOLVE THAT:

- (A) THEY WILL RESPECT EACH OTHER'S RIGHT
FREELY TO CHOOSE AND LIVE UNDER ITS OWN POLITICAL,
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS.

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- (B) THEY WILL REFRAIN FROM INTERFERING OR
INTERVENING IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES IN THE
NAME OF THE "IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE".
- (C) THEY WILL RESPECT THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES FREELY
TO CHOOSE THEIR POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS.
- (D) THEY WILL ENCOURAGE THE FREE COMPETITION OF
IDEAS AND TO THIS END THEY WILL NOT IMPEDE LARGE-SCALE
DISSEMINATION WITHIN THEIR JURISDICTIONS OF INFORMATION

CONCERNING VARIOUS POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
SYSTEMS.

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